?: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Munjid who, although she put the *mahjily* over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

## FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munjid the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munjid as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mainly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage, and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this social function of the funeral appears to persist undiluted among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *majlis*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Quesi villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1



There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tibba' zawjha*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munqif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

## CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munqif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

## SOCIAL CLASS

In Munqif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munqif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Munsif]



holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidaar (south of Jbayl on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Ḥjuula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comments that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munṣif of the Peripheral Group, the Wintereri, and the Mtawli are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munṣif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munṣif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more or less distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true